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Lawrence Wade

OBSERVATIONS

For Sir Thomas Lawrence.

P R A

From his sincere friend

The author

OBSERVATIONS,

&c. &c.

OBSERVATIONS

OBSERVATIONS

ADDRESSED TO

HIS EXCELLENCY

THE MARQUIS WELLESLEY,

K. G. K. C. &c. &c.

ON

THE STATE OF IRELAND.

By THE EARL OF BLESSINGTON.

No man has yet arisen, who has been enabled to pay an entire regard to truth, and has dared to expose her without covering or disguise to the eyes of the prejudiced Public.—Hume's England.

LONDON:

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SOLD BY LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN, PATERNOSTER ROW; HATCHARD AND SON, PICCADILLY; AND MILLIKENS, DUBLIN.

1822.

OBSERVATIONS

ADDRESSED TO

HIS EXCELLENCY

THE MARQUIS WELLESLEY,

Re-presenting &c. &c. &c.

I think it necessary to offer a few remarks to those

persons who, heretofore, as interested in the

of Ireland, have been induced to speak a favour

from a Representative Place to the Marquis Wel-

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By THE EARL OF BLESSINGTON.

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1822.

PREFACE.

In presenting these Observations to the Public, I think it necessary to offer a few remarks to those persons who, from feeling an interest in the welfare of Ireland, have been induced to read a Letter from a Representative Peer to the Marquis Wellesley.

The following Observations are founded on the arguments brought forward in that Letter, in support and explanation of my intention of advocating the cause of Ireland in Parliament—and in the hope of pointing out some remedies to the evils existing in that valuable portion of the United Empire.

In the warmth of argument, and in the recollection of painful feelings excited by the Rebellion

of 1798; in abhorrence of the manner by which a Union was effected between Great Britain and Ireland; and in feelings of sorrow for the state in which my native country is placed, I indulged in expressions which I acknowledge do not assist the cause I advocate, and which in cooler moments I now reject.

It was my intention to address a second Letter upon the subject to His Excellency the Marquis Wellesley; but as many of my friends stated that though they did not agree with me in some parts, they did entirely in others; and as the points on which they disagreed were so various, I determined on re-writing the Letter, and retaining every thing but personal allusions.

It is unnecessary to say that I did not intend personal offence; if I had so intended, I should not have appeared in asterical signature, but in propriâ personâ.

The attack was against public not private character.

I do not believe that two more respectable individuals exist than the two Statesmen to whom I alluded, but I think their measures deserving of censure and attack.

The Author from whom I have quoted in the Title-page, states boldly that truth has been disregarded, because no one has dared to expose her without covering or disguise to a prejudiced public.

The majorities in Parliament prove the prejudice in favor of those men among whom the Statesmen I have alluded to hold such high situations. It is in favor of the men, and not their measures, that Members of both Houses are prejudiced; and that prejudice leads them to support the measures proposed, lest those, whom they support, should be displaced by others against whom they entertain a prejudice, even without knowing what their measures might be.

With respect to the affairs of Ireland, the Minis-

ters and Parliament of England have viewed them with a prejudiced eye.

Our late monarch, King George the IIId, was supposed to be favorable to Scotchmen, but considered Irishmen and rebels as synonymous. It was stated that his Majesty removed a noble Earl, now deceased, a firm adherent of the Pitt system, from the situation of Lord of the Bed-chamber, because King George would have no Irishman near his person.

The conduct of his present Majesty has been directly the reverse.

It is unnecessary to name the late Duke of Leinster, the Marquis of Hastings, the late Earl of Roden, &c. &c. who were the friends of the Prince of Wales, or the Marquisses of Ormond and Headfort—Lords Roden, Forbes, G. Beresford, Sir A. Barnard, Sir E. Nagle, Sir J. Beresford, &c. who have been and are members of the household of the Prince Regent and King George the

IVth, or that the private secretaries of the Regent and the King have been Irishmen, to prove that our present Sovereign had no fear of trusting his person to the care and attendance of his western subjects.

The King has always spoken of Ireland and its interests in terms of warm regard and affection, and he has proved his confidence in the people of that nation by appearing among them, irritated as they have been against each other, without the customary guards which defend the person or decorate the pageant of the Sovereign. But the King did not by his visit become acquainted with either the true feelings of his Irish subjects or with the true situation in which they were placed. Professions on both sides patched up a hollow truce.

Whether the expressions of one party were more loyal than true, remains to be proved—I am sure that in the majority the former will be proved—but

the actions of another party, since his Majesty's departure, have proved the value of their professions, and I rejoice that Ireland has a Viceroy who will rule them, though they riot, and will not permit the professors of loyalty to be disobedient to the laws. However I may offend parties or persons, it is my duty to speak the truth; and though I have not ventured so far as "to expose her without covering," still I have spoken more plainly perhaps than advisedly. I can affirm, however, that my sentiments are uttered in the real hope of serving Ireland, not in the imaginary one of serving party purposes. I believe that in the Houses of Parliament there are those who would, had they the power to do good, probe the evils, and "cut beyond the wounds to make the cure complete." I do not think that those persons, who in this country have now the power, will probe those wounds, and therefore against them I direct those arguments and feelings which, as an Irishman, it is na-

tural I should advocate and possess; trusting to the Marquis Wellesley on the one hand, and the House of Commons on the other, for prudent support and liberal assistance.

London, March 8th, 1822.

OBSERVATIONS,

&c. &c.

London, March, 1822.

My Lord,

Although I feel very incompetent to the task I have imposed upon myself, and very unworthy of your Excellency's attention, yet the necessities of the times press so heavily upon my native country, that I venture to trespass upon your Lordship's patience, in the hope of contributing, in a slight degree, to the relief of its wants and its distresses.

It was my intention, in the last session of Parliament, to bring the State of Ireland under the consideration of the House of Lords, and I had prepared myself to argue in behalf of my suffering country, when I found, that even were I successful in carrying my intended Motion for the appointment of a Committee, it would not be in my power to form one, as those Irish Peers who attended Parliament were occupied in a very im-

portant inquiry, over which the Marquis of Lansdowne so indefatigably presided.

I indulge hopes that the House of Commons will, as speedily as possible, proceed to the consideration of Irish affairs; and the Marquis of Lansdowne has given notice of his intention to bring the State of Ireland under the consideration of the House of Lords. Every Irishman who loves his country indulges the just expectation, that by the wisdom and decision of your Excellency's measures, the most favorable effects may be produced; but the powers of Parliament are requisite to give full effect to those measures which may originate in your Excellency's advice; and it is in the hope of drawing the attention of the members of both Houses to the subject which I now propose to discuss, under the auspices of an address to your Excellency, that I presume to intrude myself on your notice.

There has appeared upon the table of the House of Lords a Report from your Excellency, which I have no doubt was accompanied by a Letter to the Earl of Liverpool, in which your opinions were expressed as to the immediate danger to be apprehended from the rebellious schemes of certain individuals playing a deep game behind the curtain, and goading on those desperadoes, whose actions have proved them to be as cruel as they are cowardly. It is not my wish, nor is it natural

to me, to calumniate my countrymen, but I blush to call by that name, which should be so dear, those who could "grin horribly a ghastly smile" at the crackling of their fellow-creatures' bones in burning ruins; or those who could murder in cold blood the defenceless man, or still more defenceless woman and helpless child. Acts of this description deserve the just vengeance of power; and I admit, that if the laws are not sufficiently strong to put down such acts by force, the executive Government should be strengthened with fresh powers, and, if necessary, the greatest latitude given to such measures as the Marquis Wellesley may propose.

If a nobleman of so high a character as your Excellency undertakes the office of Viceroy of Ireland at a time of life when it is far more desirable tranquilly to enjoy the laurels gained in a long and brilliant public career, than to reap fresh wreaths in scenes of difficulty and danger; such a nobleman deserves the assistance and co-operation of the loyal and well disposed. There may be a difference of opinion with respect to the duration of extraordinary powers, but there appears no difference of opinion as to the entrusting of those powers to your Excellency's prudence and discretion.

The Houses of Parliament have most rapidly

passed the re-enactment of the Insurrection, and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Acts.

These will, I trust, produce the desired effect, of arresting for the moment, the rapid strides of insurrection; but God grant that they may not, as has been so eloquently stated, kick about the burning brands of the flaming edifice!

God grant that by speedy examples of rigorous but necessary punishment, the perpetrators and the instigators of such diabolical deeds as now disgrace parts of the southern counties of Ireland, may expiate their crimes under the awful hand of the ministers of the law, or in a distant country may learn to value those blessings which they wish to tear from their fellow countrymen with ruthless and desolating hands! At the same time, may God protect the innocent from the machinations, the malice, the tyranny, or the revenge of those who may be set in brief authority over them!

In a Morning Paper of the 8th of February, one of the Secretaries of State has been reported to have stated, "that the rebellion had not hitherto assumed either a religious or a political character." I do not know under what character the noble Secretary would class it; but as taxes, tithes, and property, are very material features in the present constituted State of political and religious Government, I am led to think that a rebellious op-

position to their collection must be numbered amongst misdemeanors against the Constitution, and therefore assume a political if not a religious character. The noble Secretary remembers no doubt the commencement of the rebellion of 1797-8. I am old enough to remember that the first seeds of that rebellion were sown in the north, and that the Protestant population, under the impulse of revolutionary doctrines, disseminated by the French regicides, and animated by the harangues and counsels of the Orrs, &c. &c., endeavoured to overturn the Constitution as by law established in King, Lords, and Commons, and with them the Reformed Church of England.

It was reported that the cause of separation between the Protestants and Roman Catholics, originated in a disagreement between two men of these different persuasions, occasioned by the former having arms and the latter none, when in the execution of some duty assigned to them: and subsequently, the Roman Catholics withdrew towards a district where the greater part of the population was supposed to be favorable to their views.

"What dire effects from trivial causes spring!"

To the cause of loyalty the effects were as favorable, as to that of rebellion they were dire—but another effect was produced, which lasted for a

considerable period, and the fire now smothered may be fanned into a flame. The evil to which I allude, and against the renewal of which I wish to guard my countrymen, was the formation of small Freemasons' Lodges, called "Hedge Row." In opposition to these, the members of which were all Roman Catholics, the other party formed small Orange Lodges; the members of which, professing loyalty, were admitted into the yeomanry, from which the other party was excluded. By a correspondence at the time with the Earl of Moira, I ascertained that these Hedge Row Lodges were not acknowledged by him as the head of the fraternity of Freemasons, and I have heard that the Lodges formed by the other party were self-created "Orange." From the opposing and virulent opinions of these two parties, and the high tone assumed by the Orange party, many serious and bloody conflicts ensued. It must, however, be admitted, that the latter party maintained its professions of attachment to the Crown, whatever difference of sentiment might formerly have existed among some of its members. By the exertions of the resident gentry, the wearing of badges, &c. was discouraged, and at last the processions on the 1st of July and 12th of August were, by the orders of the Government, suppressed during the viceroyalty of the late esteemed Duke of Richmond, who was most anxious on all occasions to benefit the country of

which he was the ruler. Since that period the north of Ireland has been in a state of tranquillity. In these observations I have endeavoured to make a distinction where, to Englishmen, there may have appeared no difference. I have been anxious to show, that many of the outrages originated in factious persons forming self-constituted Lodges, for the prosecution of their particular plans; and to prove the extent of the evil so created, there are still, I fear, some remnants which ill-disposed persons or injudicious ultra-loyalists may patch and put together, to create another party demon.

No man can more highly estimate the services of King William than I do, nor can any man more highly appreciate the blessings of the Constitution as established at the Revolution. I consider King William as the monarch that saved the Protestants from popery, and the Roman Catholics from slavery: but the present age is too enlightened to admit of public testimonials of triumph, which formerly might have been tolerated, or in which we might have mixed as pageants, or have considered as standards to rally round in the time of danger. The danger now to be apprehended is the revival of party spirit.

If the public peace is to be disturbed, if days of misery are to be the effects of processions, party colors, or other symbols of triumph; if in the

seeming of loyalty, but in the spirit of faction, any body of men lends its protecting aid to measures liable to produce such effects, it will become the duty of the Government, or of the Parliament, to inquire into the legality of its institution. I must here guard myself from being considered as a direct assailer of the principles of the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland. All that I know of its institutions or rules is acquired by reading in the morning papers statements which may be most incorrect.

In those rules there appear some expressions which it would be advisable to omit, because they are offensive; but if any society is allowed to exist at all, it must, like the Freemasons', have a right to its own mode of government.

As the forms of Parliament now exist, Peers and Commoners are obliged to take an oath, which, if I recollect rightly, one of the ministers in the House of Commons said he always took with feelings of disgust; but as long as the present law remains unaltered, Peers and Commoners must take this oath, and those who will not must be excluded. The same mode of argument applies to the rules of the Grand Orange Lodge; but it does not follow that because they exist, they are prudent or salutary.

Lord Londonderry has stated, that the rebellion is neither political nor religious. His Lord-

ship means, I presume, by that expression, that it is not a revolutionary war against the King, Lords and Commons, or a religious war against the Established Church.

The fact is, that the dissenters of the north have received a salutary lesson from the finale of the French Republic in an Imperial Dynasty; and the Roman Catholic clergy and gentry have expressed their attachment to King George the IVth, and professed their obedience to the laws.

It is true that the Roman Catholics expect to receive additional marks of grace, and find that reasoning, and not intimidation, is the best mode of procuring the boon so often demanded, and so long withheld.

It has always been my most anxious wish to see Irishmen united for the general benefit of their native land; and under the Government of your Excellency, our illustrious countryman, I feel almost inspired with a confidence that this blessing will be obtained. Too long has Ireland been divided by parties, and governed by its divisions; too long weakened by difference of opinions among its inhabitants, and by prepossessions in favor of local interests: too long have individuals been carelessly indifferent to every species of improvement that does not immediately benefit themselves, unmindful of the true policy, which points out that partial improvements must speedily become gene-

ral advantages, and sooner or later the most selfish of the self-interested must acknowledge, that he too participates in the welfare of his country.

Let it not be supposed that it is my intention to argue in favor of such partial advantages as benefit one class of society at the expense of another—my desire is to benefit all, but I should not object to measures which may immediately benefit one class more than another, confident that such measures would ultimately lead to general good.

I have no wish to see the landlord relieved at the expense of the manufacturer ;—I am no advocate for such a corn-bill as would exclude from our ports the agricultural produce of our neighbours ; the interests of agriculture and commerce ought to be for ever united ;—but I wish to see relief granted where it can be granted without prejudice to the public interests, or the excitement of such jealousies as can tend only to increase discontent.

It was acknowledged by the Earl of Belmore, who moved the address in the House of Lords last year, that the farmers and laboring classes of Ireland were in a state of great distress ; it was stated by the Earl of Limerick, who presented a petition from Limerick, as ably drawn as supported, and by every person who spoke his sentiments on the subject, that the state of Ireland demanded the deepest attention of Parliament ; and yet the session passed away without any pro-

position, on the part of the Earl of Liverpool, to ameliorate the condition of Irishmen, or even to inquire into the causes of the evil, in the hope that some remedy might be discovered.

It is necessary that the people of Ireland should not feel a depression of public spirit, or give way to feelings, the indulgence of which might lead to despair.

It is to foster the hopes that are still cherished in the breasts of my countrymen—to animate their drooping spirits—to encourage them to industry and perseverance, that I now venture to state their case to your Excellency, and by that means endeavour to draw to it the attention of Parliament. I wish to prove to my suffering country that there exist persons who are not careless of its welfare, or deaf to its complaints.

Before proceeding to enumerate the difficulties under which Ireland labors, I will repeat the statement which I made on a motion brought forward by the Duke of Bedford, the steady friend of Ireland, namely, "that I considered that the greater part of the misfortunes of Ireland had their origin in the Union, and that its baleful consequences had been felt to the present day."[1]—I am well aware of the differences of opinion that existed, and still exist on this subject: whatever

[1] Vide Hansard's Debates, March 12th, 1816.

difference of opinion there may be, I trust it will be admitted, that vast remittances have been made since the Union to non-resident Proprietors, and that, consequently, the number of unemployed poor has considerably, nay alarmingly, increased.

Previously to the Union, it is true that many families had emigrated to England, driven by alarm from their homes by the Rebellion of 1797-8.

Of that scene of horror I cannot speak but with recollections of disgust at the conduct of the conflicting parties; and I am most anxious that the deeds which now disgrace some of the Southern counties, may not lead to the renewal of scenes of such brutal ferocity as those which marked the period of 1798, in the black catalogue of Tyranny, Murder, Treason, and Rebellion. The attempt to renew such scenes in 1803, increased the number of absentees; and many of the middling, encouraged by the example of the higher classes, established themselves in England. Now we find Irish land-holders forming colonies in Wales, Devonshire, and other places where provisions are cheap, while their richer countrymen have fixed their residences in London, Cheltenham, and Bath.

Will any person say that this is not an evil? Has not the absence of landed proprietors from England since the peace of 1815, been felt, not only in the reduction of the revenue, but in injury

to trade and manufactures, in decreased employment of the poor, and consequently in increased poor-rates? If then in this country, so vast in its resources, so enormous in its wealth, any evil can be felt from emigration, what must be the effect produced on Ireland, and more especially on the poor of that country, who have no other resource than that which arises from the employment of their labor? but the evil does not rest here: Ireland every day feels the loss of that Parliament of which the Union has deprived her. It is well known by Irish members, that their efforts in behalf of those whom they represent have been rendered fruitless, by the deafness of the ears to which their appeals have been addressed.

The King of the United Empire has deigned to visit the capital of Ireland, but His Majesty saw his subjects in their holiday clothes, not in their every-day suits—His Majesty saw the countenances of his people gladdened by the sunshine of hope, not brooding under the chilling climate of poverty and despair. His Majesty promised to befriend Ireland, towards which he has been uniformly well disposed, and His Majesty, in support of his gracious promise, has selected such an Irishman as the Marquis Wellesley to be the representative of his dignity and the dispenser of his justice.

I trust the day is approaching, when Ireland will receive some of those benefits promised to her when

her unwilling consent was given to a closer connexion with her more fortunate sister.

What was the language of Mr. Pitt? what was the language of his Secretary Lord Castlereagh? We find in Mr. Pitt's printed speeches, that "this measure is to calm the disunions, allay the animosities, and dissipate the jealousies, which have unfortunately existed." Has it done this?—Have we not rather seen these evils increase?

Mr. Pitt further says, "the object of this measure is to communicate to the sister-kingdom the skill, the capital, and the industry, which have raised this country to such a pitch of opulence."

Has it done this? No; because neither the Imperial Parliament nor the Administration have adopted measures calculated to produce that tranquillity, which could give confidence to the speculator; and consequently the English capitalist has shrunk from venturing his skill, his money, and his industry in an ill-governed country.

To proceed with Mr. Pitt's theory, we find "the object of the measure is to give Ireland a full participation in the commerce and constitution of England, to unite the affection and resources of these two powerful nations."

Hitherto, Ireland has had no share in the commerce or affections of England, and very little of her constitution.—If I were obliged to bring forward any circumstance to prove my argument, I

should refer to the gross violation of the constitution, in the protection of the proceedings which in the course of last year took place at a meeting of Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Freeholders in the county of Dublin.

To proceed with the great statesman, Mr. Pitt, we find "in the union of a great nation with a less, we must feel that we ought not to be influenced by any selfish policy, that we ought not to be actuated by any narrow views of partial advantage—not grasping at financial advantage, but wishing to make Ireland more *free* and more *happy*."

Whether Ireland is more free I leave to wiser politicians than myself to decide; but every individual knows that she is not more happy, and that she has received no financial *advantage*, but the union of her Exchequer with that of England, by which perhaps some saving as to salaries may have been made, where very great savings ought to have been made.

Reports went abroad, that it was promised to the Protestant, that after the Union the Roman Catholic Question should not again be discussed—and to the Roman Catholic, that he should receive emancipation.

As to the reports of Mr. Pitt's going out of office, I shall not now dwell upon them; but in opposition to some opinions delivered by the Earl of Liverpool, I beg to quote Mr. Pitt's words, as

published in his speeches, and confirmed by the statements made in his Life by Mr. Gifford.

Mr. Pitt stated, "that there were insuperable objections to his bringing forward the Catholic claims, although he wished to submit the Question to Parliament."

Mr. Pitt further admits, that "a paper was circulated by his express desire through Ireland."—What the contents of that paper were, I cannot tell, but perhaps the Secretary of the day, (now Marquis of Londonderry) may be able to state that the promises there held out have been amply fulfilled.

I now wish to ask whether the speculations of that great statesman, Mr. Pitt, have been realised—I wish to ask whether the promises of public advantage held out by Lord Castlereagh have been fulfilled? I may be told that the Irish House of Commons was in such a state that, without a reform, it could not long have existed. This may be true, and the act of its own self-destruction may partly prove it; but am I, on such evidence, to call an act of Folly an act of Justice or of Policy?

It may be argued, that the United Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland requires reform, without suggesting that it should be annihilated, or that the seat of deliberation should be transferred to India, or America.

In his Majesty's gracious Speech, which is

known to emanate from the Cabinet Ministers, and therefore may be commented upon, we are told that his Majesty "is determined to use all the means in his power for the protection of the persons and property of his loyal and peaceable subjects." Nothing can be more just or more encouraging to those brave gentlemen, who are endeavouring to uphold the law, and to protect their families and their estates from the assaults of midnight ruffians.—But it would be still more encouraging and more just if there were also a determination expressed to inquire into the causes, and endeavour to prevent a return of similar evils. I do not find a word in any of the speeches of the King's Ministers which can be so construed as to induce a hope that some measures will be brought forward for the relief of that country. It has been stated in the newspapers, that one of the ministers in the House of Commons said, that gentlemen would have time during the session to make themselves acquainted with the state of Ireland. Have not the members of the Imperial Parliament had above 20 years to learn the state of that country, and are they not, generally speaking, as little acquainted with it as with the state of South America?

The Earl of Liverpool has said, that Ireland differs in its situation from any other country in the world. His Lordship knows that the inhabi-

tants of Ireland export corn, butter, and linen, and distil whiskey. His Lordship also knows, from experience, that a noble Earl now doing his duty as a resident landlord, is in the habit of annually calling his attention to the Roman Catholic Question; but it was to make the noble Lord acquainted with the real situation of Ireland I was anxious to form a Committee of enquiry in the House of Lords. I am not desirous of setting my knowledge of Ireland in opposition to that of the Earl of Liverpool, but I wish for inquiry, that the opinions of those who are acquainted with Ireland, and the testimony of persons as to matters of fact, may be obtained, in order to ascertain the fittest mode of bestowing relief.

The Parliament of Ireland has been transferred to England, which has almost had the effect of annihilation.

Has Ireland received the benefit of English speculations?—Have there been established in that fertile country many capitalists from England, whose wealth, whose skill, whose talents, and whose industry, could not only advantageously employ their capital, but find employment for a starving population, by opening the mines and quarries, by introducing manufactures, by improving the practices of agriculture, by extending the fisheries, and by reclaiming vast tracts of land which now produce neither fuel for man nor food

for cattle, but which by judicious draining might be converted into forests to shelter and ornament the country? That *employment* was promised by the advocates for the Union, but taken from the poor, as I contend, by the enactment of that legislative measure.

It may appear to some a very useless waste of time to rake up the ashes of the Union question, but to your Lordship's comprehensive mind it will not be necessary to say that such remarks would be irrelevant.

Look at the compensations, the pensions, the places in reversion, granted at that time, and under which the country still labors. The time is come when such an expenditure of the public money should terminate, and our ears should be shut to the clamors of those who, on this subject, would appeal to the generosity of Parliament.

It is no sound argument to say that, "because we have received so much for 20 years, it is hard to take it from us." The answer should be this: "the man who recommended such gifts deserves the hatred of his countrymen; we have supported you too long, we can afford to do so no longer; the laborer is worthy of his hire, but the pensioner and sinecurist must cease in the land."

These are, unfortunately, times when liberality becomes profusion, and though I should feelingly regret the hardships that must fall on individuals,

I cannot but advocate measures which I consider of such importance. It is not that I lay more than necessary stress upon the catalogue of thousands displayed in the Royal Kalendar, but that I perceive there exists a spirit in the hearts of Englishmen hostile to such a waste of the public money, and although it has for years lain comparatively dormant, it now bursts forth in eruptive blazes, and may at last burn with volcanic fury.

The reduction of trifling offices is not satisfactory. Useless places and undeserved pensions must be either gradually or decisively struck off, and taxes must be reduced to give content to the poor man, or relief to those from whom he derives his sustenance.

Ireland has been since the first occupation of that country a field for plunder.

Queen Elizabeth was the first sovereign who adopted maxims which established a strict equality of justice; but her anxiety for uniformity of worship soon banished the blessings which the commencement of her reign had shed over Ireland, and the sword was again drawn in defence of religious and ancestorial customs.

Ireland has never been conquered, but I wish to see her subdued by affection. If Henry the IId had treated her like his beloved Rosamond, instead of his neglected Eleanor; if Edward the IId had shown her half the favor he lavished on Piers

Gaveston, her governor; if Richard the IId had loved her as he did Robert de Vere, whom he created her duke, and wished to make her king; if Elizabeth had trusted her as she did her Essex and her Mountjoy; if James the Ist, when he granted the partition of Ulster, had given to his kinsmen and dependants such instructions as have emanated from our gracious sovereign King George the IVth; if Charles the Ist had taught the Earl of Strafford the principles of true policy; if James the IId had not raised the standard which he deserted, and William and his successors had adhered to the principles admitted in the treaty of Limerick; if the three Georges in succession, and the third of that race in particular, had not considered Ireland as a foreign land, and marked its people as barbarous, we might now see the warm-hearted sons of Erin softening into affection towards the sister country, instead of drooping under terms of opprobrium, or madly rushing into rebellion. The Union was to heal our woes, and to relieve our distresses. We were promised days of halcyon bliss—ours was to be a land flowing with milk and honey—we found it a land overflowing with gall—we had heard of ages of silver and of gold—ours was to be an age of emerald;

"But alas for my Country, her pride is gone by,
And that spirit is broken which never would bend;

O'er the ruin her children in secret must sigh,
For 'tis treason to love her, and death to defend."

The promises that betrayed and the hopes that induced, faded into air,

"When the emerald gem of the western world
Was set in the crown of a stranger."

He who now wears the crown has, I believe, the will, would he had the power, to make that gem an ornament to its imperial splendor! But among the ministers of the crown we have not, I fear, any one sufficiently ardent in the cause, to fathom the depths of the grievances of Ireland; and even the talents of Marquis Wellesley will not create a second Hercules to cleanse the Augean stable.

When I reflect, my Lord, that no efficient measure has been proposed by the Ministers of the country, I must regret that I opposed the motion of a Noble Marquis, now a Duke, whose object, in the year 1816, was to inquire into the state of Ireland.

At that time, trusting to the promises of the administration, I was induced to oppose the motion—which of itself ought perhaps to have been opposed, as it embraced too much, viz. "*The Roman Catholic Question, Tithes, Finance, Reform, County Presentments, Agriculture, Trade, &c., Magistrates and Sheriffs.*"

"Places and pensions" were not, I believe, alluded to, and I now regret that I did not vote for the Noble Marquis's motion, with such an amendment.

I did, however, state, that although I could not vote for a Committee to inquire into such a multitudinous mass, I could point out how many of those grievances, of which the Noble Marquis complained, might be remedied—but more of that hereafter.

I feel that every point upon which the Noble Marquis then most ably touched, deserves the deepest consideration.

We were told, by those who opposed his motion, that time would cure all—Nearly six years have passed away, and we are in ten times greater distress.

It was then believed that many of our difficulties were of a temporary nature, and that by the wisdom of an administration (which had conducted the war with such honor to the country, but with such an extravagant profusion of expenditure as now presses upon every individual in the state) in "the piping times of peace," we should be enabled to show to foreign nations the same noble example which this country displayed during the war. In these hopes we have been most grievously disappointed.

I am willing to believe, that the Ministers have

done their best, but I am assured that bad is the best of that which we have seen emanate from their counsels.

It has been argued, that Ireland has always had the advantage, where advantage could be shown—it has been so argued by the Earl of Liverpool, but it never has been proved.

It is true that many useful public works have been carried on in Ireland since the peace; that the city of Dublin has been beautified and improved; that mail-coach roads have been made on a superior scale by the advance of public money, and since repaid by assessments on the various counties through which those roads were carried.

It may be said, that Parliament granted 500,000*l.* for the poor, to be expended in parochial relief, or public works; and it may also be stated, that out of that sum a balance of above 100,000*l.* remains in the hands of the Commissioners—Why does that balance remain? Because the grant was so clogged with difficulties, that individuals shrunk from soliciting the advantages which it was intended to afford.

It may also be stated, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in order to conciliate ministerial members, proposed a grant of 500,000*l.* to assist the mercantile interests during a time of severe pressure. And it may be said, that the Earl of Liverpool mentioned his intention of making such

an arrangement with the Bank of Ireland, previously to a renewal of its charter, as would, by the means of branch banks in the various large cities and towns, materially assist the agricultural and mercantile interests.

It may be further said, that Ireland, during the war, was spared from the burden of the property-tax—and it is true—but the collection of such a tax would have been so expensive and so difficult, as to render it wholly unproductive to the State.

It has been said that Ireland was a dead weight round the neck of England, and that it would have been better for the latter if the former had been sunk in the ocean.

This assertion was as malicious as unfounded.

What country supplied the army of Great Britain, during the peninsular war, with men? Ireland. What country supplied the fleets of Great Britain with provisions? Ireland. What country enabled Great Britain to carry on the war by its surplus produce of wheat, barley, oats, and hay? Ireland —Ireland!

Ireland, like an affectionate wife, has given her all—she has given her Lords and her Commons. She has given to the Nobles and Gentry of England many of her beautiful daughters, and is willing to give many more; she has given officers and men for the armies of Great Britain, and a Com-

mander whose skill, whose energy, and whose valor, have been the admiration of the world.

Ireland has also given such statesmen as Burke, Grattan, Sheridan, and Plunkett.

Ireland has given men, women, money, and food, and she was willing to give her spirit, but this was ungraciously refused.

It is the only thing she had left to bestow, and England refused to share it with her in its proper force, lest by so doing she should confer a benefit. —Why was it refused? Because the Chancellor of the Exchequer had a jealous fear of what might be the effect; and perhaps the Noble Lord then at the head of the Home Department thought the labors of his office might be increased by the circulation of so vivifying a cordial.

I have stated, and I believe that it can be proved, that none of the benefits held out as inducements to Ireland, have been realised; and I should like to ask the Noble Secretary (now of the *Foreign* Department) whether he could put his hand upon his heart *foro conscientiæ*, and say he believed, at the time, that they would be realised.

If he can so aver—farewell his prophetic powers; —if he cannot, why did he induce his countrymen to do an act that "blurs the grace and blush of modesty"—such an act as to make the two Houses of Parliament sign their own death warrants, and drive the representatives of the people of

Ireland to a distant capital, far from those whom they represent, and compel them there to seek for acts of grace from a Minister ignorant of their value, indifferent to their wants, and careless of their wrongs; amidst an assembly of men, conspicuous it is true for talents, acquirements, and fortune, but busied in their own interests, and deaf to the complaints of a distant country?

For this there is but one remedy: let Irishmen go hand in hand and persevere, until their demands are complied with, and the measures which they advocate adopted.

By a transition from a long and glorious, but profusely extravagant war, to an honorable, but also extravagant time of peace, both England and Ireland have suffered great distress; but great as the distress has been in England, the poor have not had the same cause to complain; for they are, generally speaking, prevented from apprehending the horrors of starvation, by the laws from which they derive protection.

It is not my wish to advocate those laws; I reckon them among the greatest of the evils that England is compelled to endure; but at the same time I feel that they might be remedied, even without a reform in Parliament.

My object in noticing those laws is, to point out how much more distressing want of employment is

to the poor of Ireland than to the poor of England.

The agriculturist of Ireland not only labors under the distresses occasioned by bad harvests, (of which he has too frequently to complain,) but want of consumption for his produce; and with high rents, tithes, taxes and county assessments, the richer farmer has become a poor one, and the poor farmer a laborer.

The answer of Government has been—"All this may be very true, but how are we to remedy it?" My answer is—It is the duty of Government to remedy the evil—it is their duty, in times of *Peace*, to attend to the happiness and prosperity of the people, as much as it is their duty in times of *War*, to protect the land which they govern from foreign and domestic foes.

It appears to me that remedies might be found; and if the Ministers cannot, or will not, propose such as are efficacious, the best means is to adventure each and all in the general scope of propositions, and for such a person as the Marquis Wellesley to select that which may appear to be most serviceable to the State.

I may be accused of having wandered too much into general observations, and I must acknowledge the accusation to be true; but the field is so wide that I feel as if I were in my own country, where

the eye travels over an uninclosed space, and seeks in vain for a resting place: with the same feelings, I have seen all that Ireland has suffered and is suffering, and have but little hope of any remedy being suggested by those who have the power of carrying their propositions into effect.

When the representatives of Ireland for once united, for the purpose of enforcing one of the articles of Union, and the importation of whiskey was established contrary to the wishes of the Chancellor of the Exchequer—what was the consequence? By his directions an order was sent to the out-ports, regulating the strength of the spirit; and by this proceeding the intentions of Parliament were defeated.

We heard, last year, that the Crown Lawyers of the two countries were at variance upon the subject—if it was so, I can only say that it is another proof of the wisdom of modern legislature, and the drawing up of Acts of Parliament, the principal aim of which seems to be to encourage confusion, and create penalties and law-suits.

Before I enter on the discussion of the four points upon which I intended last year to found my arguments for moving for a Committee, I must touch as briefly as possible upon the topics introduced, as I have already mentioned, by the Duke of Buckingham, in the year 1816. The question of Roman Catholic emancipation has been so fre-

quently, and so ably discussed, that any arguments of mine could be considered only as drops of water in the sea of rhetoric—but I may be allowed to express the sentiments which I honestly feel, and to acknowledge that those sentiments arise from conviction upon long and mature deliberation. It is unnecessary for me to recapitulate the convincing arguments which have been adduced by the host of united statesmen who have pleaded in favor of an alteration in the laws affecting the Roman Catholics of Ireland; laws which have for so many years been the causes of discontent and disaffection. The Right Honorable Luke Gardiner, afterwards Lord Mountjoy, and Henry Grattan, were the first among those who, in the Irish House of Commons, brought forward measures for the repeal of certain parts of the penal laws respecting property, marriage, &c.

From that day to the present the advocates of Catholic emancipation may number in their ranks almost the whole of the brilliant statesmen who adorned the close of the last and the beginning of the present century. Year by year some progress has been made, and a material advantage has been gained by the discussion of the question upon the broad principles of justice and policy, and not, as formerly, upon the narrow grounds of bigotry and imaginary danger.

The Roman Catholics are now represented in

Parliament; Roman Catholics are not now compelled to seek in foreign services the honors and distinctions of war. They can rise in the service of their king, and attend the worship of God according to the dictates of their own consciences. There still are points for concession, and consequently there are points for debate. I shall consider the power of sitting in Parliament as the foremost among these, because it is one which has been the most ardently desired, and can be the most easily attained. Make an alteration in the oaths taken at the table of both Houses of Parliament, and the grievance ceases with the remedy. As to judges, privy councillors, &c. &c. I must acknowledge that it appears to me they are points not worthy of contention. The king appoints both, and his ministers would not recommend any disloyal person. With respect to any danger to the state, as at present constituted, by the admission of Roman Catholics into Parliament, it appears to me a very shadow of fear.

My firm conviction is, that the feeling of Roman Catholics towards royalty, is more strong than that of the other bodies of his Majesty's subjects, and that if ever there should be an attack made in Parliament upon the prerogatives of the Crown, the Roman Catholic members would be the foremost in their defence.

The leading members of the Established Church

have a dread of an attack from those who were once the members of the Church of England. Is not such a dread as visionary as the fanciful attack upon property under the pretence of reclaiming forfeited lands?

The possessions of the Roman Church were alienated at the time of the Reformation. Although Henry VIIIth changed his mind as to forms of worship, and one day defended what another day he attacked; still the Fidei Defensor was constant to his plan of enriching himself and his favorites, at the expense of the Church, which had been until that time the Established Church of the realm. Few of the landed proprietors of Ireland have a longer tenure to boast of than 200 years. The majority of the estates are held by descendants of purchasers, and while law remains, and numbers have strength, so long will the possessors have nine parts in their favor. The arguments against this proposition will be, that in Ireland the numbers are Roman Catholics. But in the United Empire the numbers are Protestants, and in the Imperial Parliament the majority must continue to be Protestant.

It must first be assumed that kindness will beget rebellion, and moreover, that the Irish peasant prefers a Roman Catholic landlord to a Protestant, which I am by no means prepared to admit. The Roman Catholics by prudence and industry are in-

creasing in moral power, which wealth gives, and I consider that a desire of such acquisition is the best safeguard against the use of physical strength.

I now come to the question of tithes, and a more delicate question does not exist; for the high churchmen, like the ultra royalists, are too apt to consider the advocates of salutary reform as the destroyers of the rights of the church, and the overthrowers of the constitution. An established church is, in my opinion, as necessary as an established code of laws under a constitutional king; but it does not follow that an indolent and overpaid hierarchy should be tolerated, or that the people should bow beneath the yoke of a tyrannic sovereign.

England has seen the effects of such causes in the reform of the Church of England, and the dethronement of James the IId. By judicious management, no danger can now threaten either the throne or the church.

The regal power is constitutionally restrained, and the ministers of the day are responsible to the representatives of the people for the advice upon which the crown acts. The King can publicly do no wrong; the ministers may; and if they wilfully act wrongly, they deserve, and ought to receive, punishment. I would not repeat these truisms of the constitution were it not salutary to remind the people that their representatives have the power,

and if they do not exercise it when justly called for, they ought to be made responsible by their constituents. The power of the Church both in England and in Ireland can be controlled by the Parliament, and if the people have a just cause of complaint, their representatives may find means to redress their wrongs.

The Church of Ireland has vast revenues, and many good pastors and masters, but there exist many grievances which, if not remedied, may sooner or later cause its ruin. My object in alluding to the Church is not to see it placed in jeopardy, but to warn those who are in authority, that they may by timely counsel, and strict watchfulness, preserve and keep together that flock which they ought to guide in purity and peace to the gates of everlasting happiness. It is not by considering his tithes as his first object that the clergyman can win the hearts of his parishioners; it is not by leaving to a poverty-struck, perhaps ignorant, curate, the cares of an extensive parish, that the rector can perform his duty to his fellow-creatures and to his God; it is not by introducing methodistical cant into the bosom of the church, that the minister can keep his flock in the paths of piety and peace; it is not by mixing trafficking jobs and money-making agencies with the regular duties of his calling, that the clergyman of the Church of England can set an example of forbearance, pa-

tience, and proper industry to his parishioners: it is by relieving the wants, softening the woes, and conciliating the affections of those whom providence has committed to his care, that the pastor of the reformed church of Christ ought to be distinguished.

" I venerate the man whose heart is warm,
Whose hands are pure, whose doctrine and whose life
Coincident, exhibit lucid proof
That he is honest in the sacred cause;
To such I render more than mere respect,
Whose actions say that they respect themselves."

It will, I hope, be felt and acknowledged that my observations are not personally directed against any of the members of the established church. I know and value many of the most distinguished ornaments of the church in Ireland, and I have borne public testimony to their fulfilment of their duties; but I am convinced that the present system of tithes is one of the great causes of discontent. I wish to remove the discord excited by the levying of tithes: at the same time it is my desire to relieve clergymen from the distress occasioned by non-payment, or from the necessity of oppression in collecting that which is always reluctantly paid, but which at present forms the support, which their education and profession entitle them to receive. If the argument of " Do not touch the

property of the church—it is sacred," is disposed of, the next resting point will be, "If the stipend of the clergyman is to be at the will of Parliament, the Parliament of the next year may reduce that stipend as they may the civil list, or any other establishment in the state—thus curtailing year by year until there is an end of the church and its revenues."—To such an objection my reply would be, "Do your duty as clergymen, and no bill will ever pass the House of Lords to do you injury. Look to Scotland, and there you will find that the livings of the Presbyterian church, instead of being diminished, have been of late years increased to meet the exigencies of the times."

It has been argued by some persons, that removing tithes would still further separate the interests of a clergyman from those of his parishioners, and thereby lessen the intercourse between them. It might as well be argued that taking off the taxes would decrease the affection of the people for the government.

I am well aware that the cry against commutation of tithes will be strong and loud; and among other arguments to dissuade the wavering from aiding such innovations, it will be said that there must be a land-tax, and then the land-owner will pay at a heavier rate than he is now charged.

Let us for a moment suppose the property of the church to be vested in the crown for the mainten-

ance of the established church; that each Archbishop, on succeeding the present occupier, shall have an allowance by act of Parliament of 10,000*l.* per annum; that each Bishop succeeding to a vacant see shall have 5,000*l.*, Deans 2,000*l.*, and Archdeacons 1000*l.* per annum.

By this equalisation there would be an end put to Bishops seeking for a step at the death of every prelate. Promotion would be confined to Archbishoprics alone, and for that honor there would be fewer candidates. Every Bishop may think himself worthy of Meath, Clogher, Elphin, or even Derry, but there are not many prelates who consider they have much chance of obtaining Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, or Tuam.

This would almost establish a Bishop in a see for life, and make him more anxious to secure the affections of those with whom he is to pass the remainder of his days.

The crown possessing the church property, could make freehold interests; the tenants would then be represented, which at present, from holding copyholds under the church, they cannot and ought not to be. The value of the property vested in the crown would be increased. It is true that the crown is considered a very bad landlord, but be it remembered if the crown is benefited, so is the state, whereas a Bishop or Archbishop may, by fortunate hits as to running life against leases, &c. amass 2

or 300,000*l*., which his successors may spend in foreign countries; besides, the Bishop being only tenant for life, has not sufficient interest in the property to make improvements; whereas the crown would feel the advantage to be derived from expenditure, and the laboring population would be employed. The Bishops, generally speaking, would derive advantage from the change—and, as far as my judgment goes, I consider that the people would be more contented. With respect to the commutation of tithes, it is more easily accomplished in Ireland than in England.

In Ireland the great and small tithes are, generally speaking, vested in the church, whereas in England the great tithes are frequently in the hands of laymen.

By the dividing of parishes great service may be done to the established church; and a moderate land and house-tax would be more cheerfully paid than tithes—a land-tax would not always touch the fund-holder, and he ought to contribute to the maintenance of the church. There is a branch of this question that appears rather difficult to deal with, and that is college livings.

But without alteration or commutation it would be advisable to enforce the laws of that community, and to induce the college of Dublin to divide their livings. By enforcing the standing rules, the fellows of Trinity would be compelled to remain single,

and consequently when they succeeded to a living would not be burdened with a large family, which so powerfully operates in making them wish to increase their tithes.

By the division of livings the parishioners would be benefited, and the fellows removed from college at an earlier period of life, and a more fit one for performing the duties of a rector. College habits do not accord with the duties of a country clergyman, and at an advanced period of life, it is difficult to soften the asperity of study and retirement into the sweets of social and charitable intercourse. It would ill become the situation I hold in society to offer any remarks upon the clergy of the established church, which could be construed into a clamorous support of those who loudly decry that clergy as oppressive. There are bad as well as good in all professions; but we naturally look for good only among those who are supposed to dedicate themselves to the worship of God, and not of Mammon; "Ye cannot serve two masters."

If the desire of increased wealth or the fear of poverty be removed from the mind of the man who ought to act conformably to the instructionsof his Redeemer, such removal must facilitate the performance of his benign commands. In a country like Ireland, placed, as the premier observed, in a situation different from that of any other country, where out of the seven or eight millions of its in-

habitants the majority of the population of the North is Presbyterian and Roman Catholic, and of the South, Roman Catholic, it is not surprising that there should be an "impatience" of tithing. The members of the Church of England have no great predilection for tithes; it is not extraordinary therefore that those who have also their own church to support, should feel repugnant to give a share of the produce of their lands to the maintenance of those from whose doctrines they strongly dissent.

It must be admitted that all the parishioners participate equally in the charity of the good rector, and there are many instances in which the whole of the produce is spent in the parish; but there are many parishes in which there is no church, and no resident rector: there should therefore be no rector; but there is a rector, and a middle man, his proctor, who must also have his share of profit. It is notorious that there are too many instances of oppression as well as too many instances of griping avarice, and against these it behoves the representatives of the people to protect their constituents.

Hooker in his Ecclesiastical Politie admits that the wisdom of man may alter the original laws of the church, and he does not argue that the heritance of its property flows, a Deo—although he points out, as does Sir Henry Spelman in his work on tithes,

that from the ancient times of the Jews, a portion was dedicated to the worship of God.

I have no wish to take away the portion that ought to be dedicated to maintain the servants of God; I do not wish to see their properties reduced, but secured: it is for a change in the mode of payment that I argue, not in opposition to their right of being paid. I know too well the advantages derived from liberal education, and that education is most expensive; but the property of the Church must bear a ratio to the value of every other property, and I consider that for the regulation of this the interference of Parliament is absolutely necessary.

Finance and Reform came next under consideration in the Noble Duke's propositions.

It must be allowed that Reform is necessary, perhaps in some cases more necessary, in Ireland than in England, and in nothing more requisite than in Finance. The taxes of Ireland have, since the union of the Exchequers, been much better collected than they formerly were; but when I affirm that in a northern district, where the collection of taxes is esteemed a productive one, the Treasury was obliged to remit several thousand pounds, to make good the deficiency created by expenses attendant on prosecutions, remunerations, &c. in maintaining the present system of the Excise Laws,

it will not appear that the amended collection is very advantageous to the country.

Since the peace it has been found advisable to reduce some of the Irish Assessed Taxes; and if they were still further reduced, emigrations of families to France, Italy, and Switzerland, might be impeded, and the revenue thereby improved. The duty on wines has of late years been so increased, that a hogshead of claret, which was considered as too highly rated at sixty guineas, is now one hundred guineas; the consequence is, that the consumption has fallen off to such a degree as to make the wine-merchant feel the loss, for which an additional consumption of port wine is not an equivalent. Claret has been the wine generally preferred in Ireland, as port has been in England: but as claret is a luxury, I point to an alteration in the duty merely as a speculative point of finance.

By lowering the taxes on carriages, horses, and servants, there would be an increased consumption of agricultural produce, an increased importation of horses from England, and an increased employment for the population.

By lowering the window and hearth taxes an oppressive burden would be made more tolerable, and the voice which now demands reform be perhaps prevented from assuming a louder tone.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer argues that a reduction of taxation would be ruinous to the coun-

try; and he argues upon the support of the Sinking Fund as the support of the credit of the country. Create a real Sinking Fund from reduced expenditure, and increased receipts from productive and not oppressive taxation; but do not press down the spirit of the nation, destroy its comforts, and overturn its commerce, in the delusive plea of keeping up that system of Sinking Fund which has been so ably pronounced to be a fallacy. That system is supposed to have originated with, and ought to go to "where the late Mr. Rose is:" let the effect seek its cause:

"We have lost his sweetness, but we have his thorns."

Those thorns I would pluck out, and scatter them amid the "Bed of Roses" on which the supporters of the system so comfortably repose.

By the blessings of the Union, Ireland is entitled to pay its share of the National Debt, and consequently is entitled to its share of complaint. I acknowledge that Ireland is unable to contribute as much as England considers she ought, for the benefits conferred: the principal of which must be, that for her own advantage England prevented Ireland, during the war, from becoming a province of France. I wish that Ireland could do more—I wish that her inhabitants, who at the late royal visit proved themselves to be so liberal and so loyal, could see their Exchequer rich in wealth, that they

might manifest to England that their souls are not sordid, nor their views confined to partial interests.

But whether they have the will or not, they certainly have not the means; and it is my desire, in offering these observations, to procure some alteration in the present system, which is "ab ovo ad imum" such as to render the wishes of Irishmen ineffectual. Year by year they find themselves reducing, not in stature, but in wealth; and at last they must either cease to live in respectability and comfort, or must say, "There are our lands, take them." This answer may not affect the ear of the Tax-gatherer, nor reach the ear of the Minister—but at length the distant thunder may be heard more closely, and the bursting peal and forked flash may make the boldest tremble. Perhaps in such days the Minister of Finance may calmly answer to some Casca's inquiry—

> "Who ever knew the heavens menace so?"
>
> "Those that have known the earth so full of faults.
> For my part, I have walk'd about the streets,
> Have bared my bosom to the thunder stone;
> And when the cross blue lightning seem'd to open
> The breast of heav'n, I did present myself
> Even in the aim and very flash of it."

Would the sacrifice of an individual, whose place would be better supplied were he wanting; would the voluntary sacrifice of a whole administration, devoting themselves, like the Roman pa-

triot, close the gulf which would appear ready to swallow up the grandeur and admiration of ages—the Constitution of Great Britain?

The divisions of Agriculture and Trade will be found treated on in another part of this work; but before I say a few words upon County Assessments, I wish to make one or two observations upon the next point—viz. Magistrates.

In the year 1816, I stated that I had very great objections to the Magistracy of Ireland, as then constituted; but I also remarked, that without the appointment of a Committee, the House of Lords could direct the Lord Chancellor of Ireland to revise the Magistracy. I am aware of the difficulty of the task, and also convinced of the excellent intentions and upright conduct of the Noble Lord who fills the important situation of Lord High Chancellor in that country; but notwithstanding my reliance upon the Noble Lord's wisdom and integrity, I would press for such a revision as a matter worthy of the most serious and deliberate investigation. There are many persons on the list of Magistrates whose names, from their situations, ought not to be enrolled. I wish it were not necessary to have Clergymen among the Magistrates; but in a country where it has been found expedient to commission them as captains of yeomanry, and where the Reformed Church is bonâ fide the "Church militant," I fear it cannot be avoided. It is not

my wish to depreciate the services performed to the State by the resident Clergy, either acting as Magistrates or soldiers.

In times of danger I have witnessed their zeal, their loyalty, and their courage ; but I would rather see Magistrates on the system of Police Magistrates, with proper constables or police officers established, although such an establishment would give a patronage to the Ministry—but it would be to the advantage of the Government to appoint persons conversant in the theory and practice of law.

At present, the person who seeks for justice pays a shilling to the magistrate's clerk—the ' to wit' might be on a stamped paper value one shilling, which would contribute to defray the expenses of the establishment, and the police officers would not be more expensive to the county than barony constables, who are frequently most inefficient characters.

These Magistrates should be regularly furnished with printed Acts of Parliament from the proper offices, as at present the Irish Magistrates are frequently in entire ignorance of the additions to or alterations in the statutes.

With respect to the High Sheriffs, it is known that formerly great exertions were made in the Castle Yard of Dublin, by the supporters of Ministers, to obtain the nomination of such as were

favorable to their views; and there have been disagreements even among those supporters, when their respective interests came in contact. It was said that a Noble Marquis, since dead, resigned his Lordship of the Bed-chamber, because a Noble Earl, also deceased, obtained such a nomination in preference to his application.

This has in some measure been remedied since 1816, by the power given to the Judges of Assize to recommend three persons, out of whom the Government selects—but why should it not be as impartially fixed as in England?

We shall now take a view of County Assessments, most burdensome to the landholders, and for which it is most difficult to find a remedy.

The Right Honorable Vesey Fitzgerald endeavoured to alter the present system, and the Grand Juries of Ireland were in arms. An arrangement has been made, by which it is more practicable for an agent of a property to protect the interests of those whom he represents; but still the good that ought to be done is far from being attained.

In the county of Dublin, the assessments are limited by Act of Parliament to a fixed charge per acre. This originated with the Right Honorable Luke Gardiner.

It appears to me that the surest mode of checking improper expenditure, or unfair division of charge, would be to make each town-land pay for

its own roads and bridges—and generally to contribute to the mail-coach road, so as to make up the necessary sum, which turnpike tolls would not cover. I know that it will be argued that new roads would not then often be made; and, consequently, the country would not receive that improvement so desirable.

Any thing is preferable to the tenants of one property contributing largely to the benefit of another, while their own roads are wholly neglected, and their communications with market towns in wet weather rendered impracticable.

It is well known that landlords, who possessed personal influence on Grand Juries, have been enabled to obtain their rents by the disbursement of public money upon roads, to which the tenants of other landlords are obliged to contribute, even at the risk of being unable to pay their own rents from the oppression of the assessments, whilst from these roads neither themselves nor the public derive any advantage.

The opposers of such alteration would say, "How are you to keep your cross roads in repair?" "As they do in England." Compel the town-lands to keep in repair such roads as they choose to have, or such as may be considered necessary by a county surveyor. The determination about new ones might be entrusted to vestry meetings, or some similar arrangement.

Having thus briefly surveyed the ground marked out and travelled over by the Noble Duke, I must beg to offer a few observations on pensions and places. I have already given notice of my intention to move for a return of all places and pensions granted in Ireland since the first of January, 1798.

When this information is given, it will be practicable to point out the services of the various persons whom the Government during that period has selected as objects of public reward. At present it is impossible to speak accurately, and therefore it may be more prudent not to speak at all. I am willing to admit that a Lord Lieutenant may be justified in giving a pension to the wife of a public servant who has sacrificed his prospects in life to the dull and plodding duties of a secretary or a clerk; but it does not follow that a daughter should be included; much less does it follow that a pension of 600*l.* a year should be given to the wife of a gentleman, who for many years enjoyed the comforts of office, with two houses attached to it, and who retires from his labors to enjoy the comforts of inherited property. The pensions granted by Parliament are understood to be for public services, and therefore must be considered as deservedly granted; but a Lord Lieutenant may look with an eye of partial regard, and the public are made to pay for that gift in which they have no voice. Such pensions ought to be forthwith made the

subject of parliamentary inquiry, and either annually reduced by taxation, or immediately struck off.

With respect to places, I consider that all those, the duties of which are not performed by efficient officers, should be struck off, and an addition made to the salary of the deputies who have faithfully and laboriously discharged their duty.

I shall now proceed to discuss more particularly those points to which I intended to confine my arguments in the last session of Parliament, and which I consider as standing high in the catalogue of evils under which Ireland labors: these are,

1st. The want of capital to encourage industry.

2d. The oppressive laws of excise.

3d. The state of agriculture, trade, and manufacture.

4th. The situation of the laboring poor.

1st. The want of capital. It was proposed in the House of Commons to bring in a bill for the encouragement of joint stock companies, which, it was hoped, would in some degree remedy this great evil.

Not being acquainted with the provisions of that bill, I cannot found any arguments upon it; but I feel confident that the proposer of any bill which would promote the circulation of money in Ireland, would confer as great a benefit on that country as any she has hitherto received at the hands of Great Britain.

Unite education with employment, and the lower classes will be induced to return to peaceful practices; and the establishment of tranquillity on a permanent basis, will give confidence to the English capitalist, and induce him to seek for increased wealth in a country open to speculation, and not glutted with a superabundance of manufactural produce.

The Marquis of Lansdowne most forcibly observed, in his speech upon the state of foreign trade, that South America and Ireland were the great fields for commercial speculation. Every observation made by that eminent statesman deserves and receives the deepest attention.

From documents that have lately appeared, the British Merchant may indulge in the prospect of a favorable issue from a commercial intercourse with South America.

Ireland, which, from its locality, from its harbours, and from its natural productions, ought to stand high in rank with its sister-kingdoms, cannot, from its depression, feel the same glow of satisfaction at so cheering a prospect as is now experienced in Scotland and in England.

But the wealthy inhabitants of Great Britain should recollect, that the Noble Marquis united Ireland with South America, as points of view for speculative eyes.

In opening a trade with South America, the

merchant has not only to contend with the difficulties of a distant navigation, but he has to guard against the dangers attendant upon civil warfare, in which too frequently the contending parties only unite in one sentiment, and by which the trader, when it is too late, discovers that the victorious party is adverse to his interests; and breach of faith is too often cloaked under the plea of necessitous policy.

Unguarded speculation has produced a great portion of the evils that England endures.—How wide has been the destruction occasioned by improvident and imprudent exertions, to triplicate in a few short months that fortune which time and prudence might have doubled in as many years; but which, by the folly and avarice of its possessor, is lost—

> "And, like the baseless fabric of a vision,
> Leaves not a wreck behind."

Unfortunately the evil does not fall upon the heads of the guilty alone. The ruin is as desolating as it is extensive. It was not of such speculation that the Noble Marquis spoke, but of speculation founded on a correct knowledge of commerce; for be the scene laid in Ireland, or South America, "it matters not a jot" with the pursuers of visionary schemes, or the graspers at imaginary fortunes.

Capital has been removed from Great Britain to distant parts of the world, very frequently to

strengthen those who are in opposition to her interests. An emigrator with a few hundred, or sometimes a few thousand pounds, seeks in America, either in the United States, in Canada, or in Nova Scotia, an establishment for his industry and his skill. He does not turn his thoughts to Ireland: is it because he sees that its interests are neglected, and because he foresees that its inhabitants will not continue to bear those burdens under which they have so long groaned? A farmer, a mechanic, or a merchant, with that which in England would be considered an incompetent capital, would in Ireland find himself able to compete with others possessing even greater pecuniary means; for he would carry with him a greater ratio of knowledge.

In the time of war, ten thousand pounds were considered as an absolutely necessary sum to occupy a farm in Norfolk. The land in that county being of a light nature, the farmer was obliged to clay his ground, dibble in his seed, and use every exertion of skill and industry. From a change of prices, and an improvident manner of living, this man is obliged to leave his farm, and, with the residue of his property, he endeavours, either at the Cape of Good Hope, or in America, to support his family.—Supposing that persons similarly situated were to establish themselves in Ireland, they would find a rich soil, no poor-rates, and labor cheap; and if precaution is necessary, let a

sufficient number emigrate together, and they will support and assist each other: precaution is more necessary in the countries which have been named, so that the mentioning of such a word cannot fairly cause an argument against my proposition.

The same reasoning will apply to the situation of the farmer, the mechanic, or the merchant.

Ireland requires capital and skill, and Ireland is as open a field for their profitable uses, as it is for commercial speculation.

I now come to speak of the oppression of the Excise Laws, the misery created by which it is difficult to find words to describe. It may be argued, that the Excise Laws of England are equally severe.

I should wish to ask any man, acquainted with the two countries, whether the laws are administered in the same manner in both?

In England, the Government has adopted a plan of prevention—and accordingly in this service ships, boats, officers, sailors, and dragoons are employed.

The expense of this system, however, does not fall upon any particular district, but upon the nation; and Ireland would contribute its share, if its revenues exceeded its expenditure.

In Ireland the Excise Officers can, at their own option, and at any hour, call out officers and parties

of the military, and employ them in still-hunting, to obtain perhaps a useless and worn-out piece of copper. This is injurious to the health and discipline of the soldier, and beneficial to the Excise Officer, but not to the revenue.

Ireland has also a preventive police—not paid for by the nation, but by the barony.

In England, where the smuggler resides on the spot, the nation pays the expense of guarding against his illicit practices.

In Ireland, when a still is found (though belonging to an individual of another county, who has secreted it for protection), a fine is levied on the town-land where it is found, or the Judge has the power of introducing an expensive police.

Every landlord wishes to see private distillation suppressed. It is, however, I fear, increasing, and the operation of the fines may be renewed. But I say to the Ministers of the country—Beware!

There already exist too many causes of complaint. The people of the north of Ireland may be made powerful friends—do not drive them into acts of hostility and insubordination.

Permit, as has been promised, the use of small distilleries, &c.—allow smaller floors of malt, so that in each market-town barley and malt may be bought and sold.

General Hart, Member for the county of Donegal, has, with a spirit and perseverance which en-

title him to the gratitude of his countrymen, advocated the adoption of a plan proposed by Mr. Pottinger.

Lord Mount-Charles, his colleague, has also exerted himself to procure an alteration of the Excise Laws, and some few of the Irish Members have co-operated in a slight degree; but in this, as in other cases, the want of unanimity has been felt. A meeting took place at the Thatched House, at which, unfortunately for myself, I was not present, but I understand there was a communication between the Chairman and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and that it was promised that Mr. Pottinger's plan should be tried, and, if successful, adopted. General Hart informed me that it had been tried in the City of London, and approved by every person who had witnessed the experiment.

The experiment has been made in Dublin, and I regret to say, that the Distillers have been enabled, by means of an air pump, to defeat Mr. Pottinger's precautions; but that gentleman feels confident of being able to remedy the defects of his machinery, if he is allowed to remove it to London. Every person conversant in mechanism must know the difficulties of bringing machinery to perfection, and any one who has observed the gradual improvements in steam engines, and time pieces, must know, that though much has been done, much remains to be done; and the supporters of Mr. Pot-

tinger's invention must not be discouraged because in this experiment it has appeared to fail.

Mr. Pottinger proposed to reduce the duty to four shillings per gallon; and he contended, "that by the increased consumption of legal spirit, the revenue would be increased to the amount of 63,520*l.*—rather more than the tax on malt used in distillation." He also said, "I am fully confirmed in this statement by the answer of Mr. Coffey, a most able and intelligent Officer of Excise, to a Committee of the House of Commons, who asked his opinion respecting the effect of reducing the duty one half, which, Mr. Coffey considered, would increase the revenue, even without the means which I now propose to use, for the collection of the whole amount from the licensed distillers."

If, by the adoption of Mr. Pottinger's plan, and a reduction of duty to the amount of $\frac{7}{19}$ths, the revenue can be calculated at an increase to a larger amount than the produce of the malt-tax, there surely can be no just reason why the duty on malt should remain, especially as taking it off would facilitate the putting down of illicit distillation.

At present, the public distilleries are confined to large cities, such as Dublin, Cork, Belfast, Newry, Derry, &c.

By the suppression of illicit distillation, the

licensed distillers would be benefited, and they would be much more benefited provided they were allowed to continue the frauds which they practise upon the revenue, and which were clearly stated by the Right Hon. John Foster, now Lord Oriel, on the 3d of March, 1805. He said, " Among the many distillers I have talked with, there is scarcely one, who has not actually avowed to me that he did defraud the revenue."

The regulations of the Board of Excise are such as to render it impossible for the licensed distillers to make good whiskey; consequently, they either buy from the private stills, or themselves distil in private, for the purpose of mixing the purer spirit with that run off according to the directions of the Excise. By Mr. Pottinger's plan a pure spirit would be produced; there could be no fraud upon the revenue, and whether the distillery were large or small, the operation of his machinery would be the same.

As it is expected that the spirit trade between Ireland and England will be unrestricted, it is desirable that the British public should be made acquainted with the improvement which Mr. Pottinger's plan will produce; and I therefore strongly recommend it to that gentleman to give a wider circulation to his propositions.

With respect to Ireland, it is evident that by the adoption of this plan, agriculture would be encou-

raged, the revenue protected from fraud, a market would be created for barley, and the adulteration of the spirit, by the introduction of improper ingredients, prevented.

Such a plan would increase the revenue, and decrease the number of applications for favors at the levee of the Chief Secretary of Ireland.

It is well known, that every Irish tenant, if he can say he is a loyal man, expects his landlord to put one of his sons into the Excise. If his landlord is a supporter of the administration, he thinks that he has a just claim for so trifling a favor.

Within a short period there has been a considerable reduction of the number of Excise Officers; and it is to be hoped, that in future they will be prevented from the commission of such deeds as have been attributed to them.

I have used the word attributed, but I should have said such deeds as they have been charged with the commission of, to the shame of the country and of the Government.

The Right Hon. R. Peel said in the House of Commons, that he conceived it impossible such actions could have occurred. If the Right Hon. Secretary had been present in the year 1819 at a debate in the House of Lords, on presenting a petition from the county of Tyrone, against the existing Distillery Laws, he would have heard the Earl of Aberdeen state two cases, which he must

have considered as proofs positive. That Noble Lord, in a truly eloquent speech, affirmed, in terms that did honor to his head and his heart, that an old man, in an infirm state of health, had been forcibly taken from his bed by certain Excise Officers in the county of Donegal, and dragged to Lifford gaol, where he died. His Lordship also stated that an Excise Officer ordered his party to fire upon men in a boat on Lough Swilly, whom he suspected to be smugglers. I cannot call to mind the consequences of this act of barbarity, but it made a due impression on the House.

The Earl of Liverpool listened to his noble friend with attention, but the laws remained unaltered.

I stated at the same time two cases, one of which it is sufficient now to record. An Excise Officer seized a still, and at the same time two persons whom he considered to be engaged in illicit distillation: they made no resistance; and he took them with his party to the county town; and in that town, without any provocation, he gave one of these men a severe wound on the head with his sword. The man charged with smuggling was sentenced to six months' imprisonment; the Gauger, who was found guilty of the assault, was sentenced to one month's imprisonment, and I was informed that the Judge of assize released him from that punishment previously to his leaving the town.

The only way that I can account for the Judge's

conduct is by reference to " character." Character is every thing in Ireland; and I am sorry to say, that from mistaken humanity, a good one is often undeservedly obtained.

I remember that the life of a man who had committed a murder in a most wanton manner, was saved by the character given of him by a non-resident Clergyman, who had formerly known him to be an honest and industrious man.

I allude to this circumstance to prove the probability of the cause which I have assigned for the conduct of one of the dispensers of his Majesty's justice.

Having alluded to the Bench, I think it my duty to mention the conduct of Mr. Justice Moore, who " in the year 1814, at the Lifford assizes, expressed with becoming indignation, his horror at the gross attempts which were often made by Excisemen to impose several fines for one detection, by lodging a separate information for each article which they had seized."

I have quoted these expressions from the second letter of the Rev. Edward Chichester to a British Member of Parliament, and I feel particularly happy in this opportunity of expressing how gratefully the gentry of the north of Ireland feel towards Mr. Justice Moore, whose conduct has uniformly been such as to secure their affection and support.

I will now refer to a case stated by Mr. Chi-

chester, viz. " that at the assizes for the county of Clare, in the Spring 1818, a Gauger shocked and disgusted the whole Grand Jury, by an information against a countryman for smuggling tobacco, and being questioned as to the grounds on which he swore, said, ' that he knew by the feel of the tobacco, that it was smuggled.' "

I have stated, perhaps rather too tediously, various instances of oppression, and could recount many more; the present system of distillery laws must come under the consideration of Parliament, and I am anxious that the country gentlemen of England should become acquainted with themodes in which those laws are administered in Ireland. Would such acts as I have stated have been tolerated in England? I have raised my voice again and again in opposition to this system, but hitherto without effect; a system as injurious to the morals of the people, both civil and military, as it is tyrannical and unprofitable.

I now come to the 3d division, which embraces Agriculture, Trade, and Manufactures.—The distressed state of Agriculture is admitted by every one; it is a case of great delicacy, and must be touched upon with great care.

An alteration in the mode of taking the averages directed by the Corn Laws was expected, by some persons, to afford relief; but other remedies must

be found to prevent the land-owners from falling into a state of bankruptcy.—Any opinion that I could offer, on the general question of the state of Agriculture, would have little weight; but as Ireland does not stand on the same footing with England, I may be allowed to offer a few observations.

In Ireland, the farmer has not only to contend against Taxes, County Assessments, Tithes, and Rents, but also against want of markets in his own country, and consequently is obliged either to ship his corn himself for England or Scotland, or to sell it to some speculator at a low price.

By either of these means the grower's profits must be materially reduced, without benefiting the consumer.

From the want of inland navigation the Irish farmer, who has not sufficient husbandry stock to carry his produce to an export town, which is attended with very considerable expense, must sell to a wholesale dealer from Scotland, or the north of England, who will take care to have his share of profit. By the reduction of prices, the buyer's share will not be on the same scale of lowering as the farmer's; thus the injury is greater to the farmer, and consequently to the landlord, than to the speculator.

At present cabins, with not more than two hearths and six windows, are free from taxation: by extending this to a greater number, the Irish

farmer would be relieved; and by taking off the Malt Tax, he would have increased demand for his barley: by lowering of Tithes and Rents, he can also be relieved.

Such alterations would place the agricultural interests of Ireland in an improved state: it is not so easy a matter to place those of England in a flourishing or even improved situation. The Tax upon Farm-Horses has been taken off, and the Malt Tax or Salt Tax may follow it: but until the Poor Laws are altered either in their mode and management; or that the Fundholder is compelled to contribute to the support of the poor; until an alteration is made in the Tithe system; until taxes are lowered, and economy practised in the fullest extent, not only in the expenditure of the State, but in the collection of the revenue, neither the farmer nor the landowner can be prosperous. I ought to apologise for giving opinions relative to England, but I wish it to be clearly understood, that in looking for relief for Ireland, I do not overlook the interests of England. I know that taking off the Salt Tax would be considered injurious to Ireland.

The Irish butter and bacon can maintain its ground, if the producers take care to maintain their credit by bringing good articles to market. The rival to be dreaded is the butter from Holland.

But in arguing for fair advantage for England I

expect equal liberality for Ireland. I am not to be told that if you give an unchecked importation to Irish spirit, that England is to be inundated with it, as at present it is filled with Irish corn and Irish linen. My answer to such a narrow view of policy is, " take off the protecting duties between the two countries, and Ireland will be filled with the manufactures of England." And yet I advocate the taking off those duties. There may be a question as to policy in respect of foreign duties; there can be none, in my opinion, as to domestic goods.

The revenue of the Empire will be greatly increased by aiding Ireland, and the richer she becomes, the more will she be enabled to purchase from England.

During the war, Ireland derived great advantage from the expenditure, because Great Britain fed its fleets from the southern provinces, and kept an army in that country drilling for the field.

I still wish to see a military occupation continued, if I may be allowed the expression, not in the view of considering Ireland as a conquered country, for that appellation ought never to be applied to it, but for the purpose of enforcing the laws, and protecting the peaceable and well-disposed.

It should be remembered that popular feeling,

with respect to the military, is very different in Ireland from that which exists in England: in the latter it is looked at with jealousy, in the former with confidence. In England the officer is neglected by the higher class, and the soldier disliked by the lower; in Ireland the officer is treated with hospitality and kindness, and the soldier considered as the protector of the lives and properties of the peaceable and industrious.

Even by those against whom the military are ordered to act, that body, generally speaking, is respected. A feeling exists that the execution of duty is tempered by mercy and forbearance, and that their actions proceed from loyalty and obedience, not from malicious revenge, or personal hatred.

By such a military occupation the farmer and landowner must be benefited, because it creates a demand for meat, of which otherwise there is but little consumption; it improves the towns to so great a degree that parliamentary interest has been frequently employed to procure the quarters of a regiment, and ground has occasionally been given for barracks, although, generally speaking, those buildings have been the greatest of jobs. It is not for the employment of the military in still-hunting, that I advocate the keeping of a standing army in Ireland; but because I consider that power as efficient to preserve the public peace, to which

the civil power, as at present constituted, is inadequate.

There is not in the United Kingdom any individual who more sincerely wishes that such occupation and such employment were not necessary; but until a material change is effected, I contend that they are not only desirable, but necessary.

I have already stated, that the encouragement of English Settlers, with small capitals, would improve the husbandry of Ireland, and that an alteration of the Excise Laws would create greater consumption. By such means, and by increased employment of the poor, Ireland would, in a few years, produce and consume double the quantity which she now does, and be able to export twice as much as at the present time.

In the midland and southern counties there are many excellent farmers, and from the produce of their lands the English market is supplied with fine wheat, oats, &c.; but, generally speaking, agriculture in Ireland is 100 years behind England or Scotland. In the northern counties you seldom see green crops, except in the demesnes of the gentry, and from those demesnes the turnips are frequently carried off in sack-loads.

From the formation of a north-west society, for the encouragement of agriculture, trade, and manufacture, I entertain great hopes of improvement in

the counties of Derry, Donegal, and Tyrone, provided the landed proprietors, whether resident or not, contribute liberally to the funds of the society, and the resident gentlemen continue to manage those funds with judgment and impartiality.

I have already expressed my wish that the protecting duties, as they are called, may be taken off. Public rumour said that the Parliamentary Commissioners of Inquiry, Messrs. Wallace, F. Lewis, Herries, &c. intended to recommend taking off those duties. Such an act of policy must immediately improve the trade of England with Ireland.

But the advocate of those duties will exclaim, "what is to become of Irish manufacture?" If the manufacturers of Ireland will not exert themselves, they cannot compete with those of England; but the inhabitants of Ireland will be enabled to procure better goods at lower prices, and the Irish manufacturers, stimulated to improvement by example and the prospect of increased fortune, may ultimately rival those of the sister country. The Rt. Hon. Luke Gardiner was a strong advocate for protecting duties. For the opinions of that true patriot and honorable statesman, I indulge feelings of the highest respect, but I cannot think that his opinions would now be the same.

There is a great difference between the year 1784 and 1822.—At the time even of Lord Mount-

joy's lamented death, at the battle of Ross, June 1798, there was little expectation that the question of Union would be carried; but since the two countries are united, the Union should be real and sincere. The Manufactures of Ireland are in as depressed a state as its Agriculture—the necessary consequence of alteration in foreign trade, and decreased demand from the landed population. The only great woollen manufactory of the country would, as I understand, have been ruined, but for the visit of his Majesty, and the consequent consumption of blue cloth. The inhabitants of Ireland cannot now afford to purchase luxuries; and the high prices, which still continue on many articles in that country, prevent trade. This will be remedied by removing the protecting duties; and consequently that measure appears to me as most judicious. Where experience has proved that protecting duties are useless, they should be removed; it is at all times a dangerous policy to adopt them, but it is madness to persevere, when no good has arisen from that adoption. It has been proved, that these duties have done little good to Ireland, and great injury to England.

I wish to see England enjoy the full advantage of its manufactural superiority, as much as I wish to see Ireland reap the benefits which the richness

of its soil, and the fewer wants of its inhabitants, entitle it to receive.

Before I conclude this part of my subject, I must say a few words on the complaints of the Irish trader to the Port of London. It was stated to me:

1st. That Irish vessels pay the Lights each time of passing, whereas coasters pay only once a year.

2d. That tonnage duty is levied oftener on the Irish vessels than on the coasters.

These, added to the high charges of pilots, and the low profits on Irish produce, form great barriers to the improvement of Irish trade.

With respect to our Manufacture of Linen, it is difficult to find a remedy for its depression.

From the financial state of America, Ireland lost that great market for its linens; and the improvement made in Scotch linens has been very injurious to those of Ireland.

The introduction of Calico into more general use, has also greatly injured the home market: of the former it would be useless, and of the two latter unfair, to complain.

As I have not been selected by the Government of Ireland, to be one of the Trustees of the Linen Board, I cannot speak with accuracy as to its regulations, or give advice as to any improvement

in its arrangements; but I earnestly implore the Members of the House of Commons, whenever a question is discussed in which the interests of this our staple manufacture are involved, to recollect that the subsistence of thousands depends on the Linen Manufacture.

My last division is truly worthy of the deepest attention of your Excellency; viz. the impoverished situation of the Laboring Poor.

It is argued by some persons, ignorant of the true state of Ireland, that the absence of the landed proprietors has no effect—and that whether they live in Dublin, or in London, is equally advantageous to Ireland.

Will any one say, that to the Laboring Poor it is the same, whether his landlord lives on his estate or in London?

A resident Nobleman or Gentleman employs in the improvement of his demesne, or his estate, from 10 to 100 or more men, daily.---The proprietor, either from economy, parliamentary duty, pleasure, or a desire to see foreign countries, is absent for one or two years from his home—his steward would not be justified in keeping up such an expense, and a third or fourth part of the laborers only is employed. The farmers do not require additional labor—there is no recruiting for the army or militia—consequently, if the industrious

man has any money, he emigrates to America—if he has not, he starves at home, or lives on the charity of his more fortunate neighbours.

There are two causes, besides absentees, from which the increased exportation arises—one is, the aid of machinery, and the second, the decreased demand at home, from the increased poverty.

It is a melancholy fact, that vast numbers of the laboring classes are thrown out of employment; and it is to guard against the evils which must arise from a state of idleness, that I intreat the Members of the British Parliament to hold out the charitable hand of succour to a sister country. In addition to the want of employment, there is great danger of distress from other causes; and it is difficult to persuade men in such a situation, that they ought to be contented, because they are free. The fact is—the poor man, in Ireland, frequently wishes to be sent to gaol as a vagrant, in order to be fed—to a gaol crammed with murderers and felons, in whose company his morals must be inevitably destroyed.

In times of financial distress, it is very difficult to propose means for alleviating these horrors; but as a comparatively small sum would materially benefit Ireland, perhaps I might venture to recommend a loan to that country, to be distributed fairly through the different provinces. Such a

sum could be raised on Exchequer Bills, probably at 3 per cent.; the interest of the sums advanced to be paid by the Grand Juries of the counties, and the principal repaid at given periods, by instalments. The money so advanced to be expended in works of public utility, under a Committee of resident Noblemen and Gentlemen, and approved of by an eminent surveyor, or engineer, appointed for that purpose by Government; the accounts to be passed at the assizes, signed by the foreman, and presented to the House of Commons by the Members for the county, who would have the power of ascertaining that the money had been fairly and judiciously expended.

In the different provinces of Ireland, there are different wants and different wishes.

In Ulster there are mines of Coal, Iron, and Copper, but there is no capital to work them; there are quarries of marble, freestone, and limestone; there is a superabundance of water, and the opportunity of levels, but no canals; there is land capable of being drained, and a climate suited to the growth of oak; there is a hardy, and well-disposed population, without the means of employing it.

Expend the money advanced to the Grand Juries in canals; not on such a scale as the Royal and Grand Canals, but similar to those used in the inland counties of England.

County assessments are burdensome to the farmer, and form too frequently a just cause of complaint: canals would reduce them, as they would save the roads from the injuries done by the numerous cars which pass over them, with heavy loads and small horses. These cars being stopped in their progress by small stones, the horse with difficulty removes the obstacle, which, however, leaves a hole for the rain to settle in; this in a short time renders the road almost impassable, as the horses' feet sink through the clay surface to the bog beneath.

Canals would serve for the purpose of draining, and facilitate the transport of Iron, Coal, Timber, Slate, &c. &c. to the interior; and of Corn, Flax, Wool, &c. &c. &c. to the ports for exportation.

Dr. Adam Smith observes, "that good roads, canals, and navigable rivers, by diminishing the expense of carriage, put the remote parts of the country more nearly upon a level with those in the neighbourhood of cities, and on that account are the greatest of all improvements. They encourage the cultivation of the remote parts, which must always be the most extensive circle in the country," &c. Phillips, in his General History of Inland Navigation, says, "All canals may be considered as so many roads of a certain kind, in which one horse will draw as much as thirty horses on ordinary turnpike-roads; or on which one man alone,

will transport as many goods as three men and eighteen horses usually do on common roads."

"The public (he farther says) would be great gainers, were they to lay out on the making of canals, twenty times as much as they expend on a turnpike-road; but a mile of canal is often made at a less expense than a mile of turnpike-road; consequently, there is a greater inducement to multiply the number of canals."

Mr. P. also says, "that the farmer would carry his grain 30 per cent. cheaper by canals than by public roads."

It may be argued, that there is so great a prepossession in favor of the car, that it would be difficult to bring carriage by water into general use. High tolls often prevent the use of water-carriage.

It appears to me, that erecting turnpike-gates would facilitate the object in view, and also assist in reducing the county assessments.

The writer of the article "Canal," in Dr. Rees's Cyclopædia, says, that "the advantages resulting from canals, as they open an easy and cheap communication between distant parts of a country, will be experienced by persons of various denominations; more especially by the manufacturer, and the occupier or owner of land, and the merchant.

"The manufacturer will thus be enabled to collect his materials, his fuel, and the means of subsistence, from remote districts, with less labor and

expense, and to convey his goods to a profitable market. As canals multiply, old manufactures revive and florish, new ones are established, and the adjoining country is rendered populous and productive."

There is one point, to which it is very material to call the public attention, and which is so necessary to the existence of the poor of Ireland, viz. fuel.

In many parts turf is become very scarce, and in a country so subject to wet weather, firing is as necessary to the health, as it is to the comfort of the laborer. If there were canals through the inland counties, the consumption of coal would be greatly increased; and as one rich family burns, in a year, as much turf as would supply 100 poor ones, it is very evident, that the introduction of coal into more general use, would be of the greatest advantage to the lower classes.

England would receive great benefit from the increased consumption of its coal, and, in a short time, the inhabitants of Ireland might procure that necessary of life from its own lands

Canals are not the only modes of improvement in which the laboring population might be employed—

Make roads on Messrs. M'Adam and Telford's plan--build bridges on better principles.

The county bridges, as they are now built, are

generally broken, or carried away, by every flood; and the money voted for the repair, or rebuilding, is only sufficient to make a job, out of which every body tries to get as much as he can—

Lay down iron railways, where canals cannot be made; in short, make, gradually, all those improvements which individual wealth creates in England, but which, at present, can only be done in Ireland by parliamentary aid. The English Member of the House of Commons, if called on to sanction a grant to Ireland, may say, "These are not times to vote any English money to be spent out of England." Were he called on to give such a vote, I should answer—that it would be good policy to do so, because the consequence would be, the introduction of English coal, iron, pottery, cloth, hosiery, haberdashery, &c. into Ireland; and the more wealthy that country becomes, the greater aid she will give to financial relief.

There is another point, to which the attention of Parliament ought to be directed, viz. building Houses of Correction and Industry in each barony; for at present every offender, or vagrant, must be sent to gaol. If Parliament granted the means for building these Houses, the counties must afterwards support them, and by the mode which I have pointed out, of reducing the Assessments for Roads, each county could afford to bear the additional expense—besides, by proper ma-

nagement, the vagrants and offenders could contribute to their own support, &c.

It would be the interest of the Grand Juries to make the inmates industrious. Ireland also requires receptacles for idiots, who now wander through the country, affording mirth to the lower orders, but bringing shame and disgrace on the more enlightened classes, for not having long since attempted to put an end to exhibitions so disgusting.

I have stated, that there are marble quarries, which might be worked with great advantage. In the county of Wicklow, and the south of Ireland, there are granite quarries, which might be profitably worked for the English market.

It has been stated to me, by an architect and civil engineer, of talent and enterprise, that the mountain granite will not only take a polish, but also resist fire. Staircases of such a material would be most desirable in the metropolis, *where* fires are so frequent and so destructive.

It would be the duty of the Grand Jurors to appropriate the sums advanced to the best mode of employing the poor, and of speedily producing some practicable good—the Grand Jurors must be best acquainted with local wants and local advantages; it is not my intention to insist on any particular mode of employment—my object is, to suggest the various modes that appear to me practi-

cable, and to leave it to those better acquainted to select the most proper.

It is possible greatly to extend the fisheries, which would not only find employment for hundreds, but provide cheap food for thousands.

On the coast of Galway, capitalists could find lucrative employment in catching the sun-fish, which is there in abundance, and which produces a better oil than the whale.

In Donegal Bay there is also, as I have been informed by Mr. Ryan, of mining celebrity, a great capability of establishing a lucrative fishery; and on every part of the Irish coast fish is plentiful.

In a country so inhabited by Roman Catholics as Ireland, the introduction of fish into general use would be as agreeable to the poor, as profitable to the fisherman. Mr. Thady Connellan has furnished many useful hints upon this subject. He is now in Ireland, endeavouring to carry his plans into execution, and to propagate the doctrines of the Old and New Testament among his fellow-countrymen in their own language.

Having mentioned the name of Connellan, I must do justice to his exertions in carrying into effect in this country the wishes of those who consider the extension of education and circulation of religious doctrines, as the primary objects to be attended to, in the hope of eradicating the evils arising out of ignorance and irreligion.

It is well known that in Ireland there is a wide field for improvement; it is equally well known that herds of persons have been driven in to vote as forty shilling freeholders, at county elections, who cannot speak English, and who would swear to any thing. I have myself witnessed the effects of such driving at an election for the county of Donegal.

Talking to such persons about law or gospel would be preaching to swine. I agree with an eloquent writer, whose pamphlet on the State of Ireland I had the pleasure of perusing yesterday, that such persons ought not to be allowed to vote.

I wish that the pen of that writer were oftener dedicated to the interests of a country, with which his education, and early habits, must have made him practically well acquainted, and whose cause he could ably advocate and materially assist;—but unfortunately for Ireland, when its sons have talents, they too often misapply them; and whether they are used for factious purposes or private emolument, the true interests of their country are the last objects of consideration.

I have endeavoured, my Lord, as briefly as possible, to touch upon the various points which I have selected for your Excellency's consideration.

I have endeavoured also to avoid expressions that may at this moment excite popular clamor, and I equally wish to avoid holding out expectations that cannot be realised. The poor of the

north of Ireland have hitherto borne their distresses with patience, but these distresses should not, therefore, be treated with indifference.

They, through me, ask for bread. Do not offer them a stone.

The mind cast down may spring up again, and the man who feels miserable by comparison, may endeavour to obtain that which he is denied, by means dangerous to the public peace.

Tollite felices, removete multo
Divites auro, removete centum
Rura qui scindant opulenta bobus;
Pauperi surgent animi jacentes:
Est miser nemo, nisi comparatus.

The happy he cannot exclaim against; for where there is general want, there cannot be individual happiness. The rich in gold and hundred oxen he cannot envy, for they exist not; but he may compare his own situation and that of Ireland, with what they might be, and thoughts of such a nature cannot lead to good.

It is the duty of Government to lead the minds of the people to that which is good; and when we see irritation and turbulence, we may suppose there is a fault in the administration of public affairs.—In the present disturbed situation of the south of Ireland, we may behold the effect produced by poverty and want of employment. History and experience have shown to the English Statesman,

that there has always existed in Ireland a spirit of dissatisfaction and smothered violence; too frequently, the flame has burst forth, and too often has it required all the strength and vigilance of the Government, aided by the valor of the loyal, to stifle it.

With men in arms against the laws of their country, there can be no argument but force; the strong arm of power must be uplifted, and the sword of justice and of vengeance fall on the heads of the guilty.

The majority of the people of Ireland are loyal—many have seen, with rapturous joy, their gracious Sovereign; and it is for the loyal and well-disposed that I stand forward, as an humble, but zealous advocate.

Give to the people of Ireland the full advantage of employment—Use the spade, and the sabre will remain in the scabbard. Look at the present state of the northern counties of England, compare it with that of 1819-20, and say what is the cause of a return to peace and loyalty; why, employment.

If by such means so happy a change can be effected, may I not appeal to you in behalf of those who are in poverty, and without any legal means of obtaining relief.

You no longer hear of nightly meetings, and lawless spoiling of arms in Durham, Northumberland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Nottinghamshire,

Cheshire, or Derbyshire; nor is it necessary now for the mechanic to apply to the parish for relief, as an improvement in trade has given the employment so absolutely wanted. Over the circumstances of foreign trade ministers can have no positive control, but they have the power of increasing international commerce, and the plans which I have proposed appear to me efficacious.

My object is to provide increased markets both for English goods and Irish produce, as well as employment for the poor. It is useless at present to tell the poor man that provisions are cheap, when he has not a shilling to go to market with.

Employment enabled him to submit to high prices during the war; the want of it makes him regret the return to peace.

At present the necessaries of life, clothing, &c. cannot be obtained in Ireland but at a high price, and luxuries, or even comforts, only by the more wealthy inhabitants—By removing the duties, and increasing canals, the inhabitants of inland counties will have nearly the same advantage as those residing near sea-port towns.

If the doctrine held by that able statesman, the Marquis of Lansdowne, be just, "That you should buy where you can buy cheapest," how desirable must it be to adopt it where the money is to be expended in the manufactures or produce of the same United Empire!

I contend that the advantage to be derived from

such plans as I have proposed, will not only be experienced by the inhabitants of Ireland, but by the merchants of England—If the merchants of London, Liverpool, Bristol, and Glasgow, are enabled to sell large quantities of goods, where before they scarcely sold a single case; would it not be good policy in them to further such schemes, by investing part of their now useless capital in creating inland water carriage? Thus they might not only obtain the regular return of profit on their goods, but an increased profit on their shares from the increased tonnage which those sales have produced.

It is not to the merchant alone that canals would be advantageous, but also to the proprietors of coal-mines in the northern parts of England and Scotland.

As I am at present more particularly arguing in favor of canals in the north of Ireland, I may be allowed to allude to the Irish companies. It is unnecessary, I trust, to remind the members of those bodies of the terms on which they hold their Charters, or the intentions of James the First when he granted those possessions—It is unnecessary to say, that by aiding such plans as I have proposed, their properties will not only be benefited, but secured; for idleness is the mother of vice, and poverty too often the provoker of evil deeds. With such an example as that of some of the southern counties before their eyes, with all the sufferings

brought, deservedly perhaps on the few, but undeservedly on the many, by the oppression of the Excise Laws; with the hardships of tithes; with the weight of taxation, particularly as to hearths and windows; with a depressed linen trade; with suffering under rents which the want of markets and their own want of skill, make the tenants unable to pay; with an improvident expenditure of county assessments—in short, with almost every ill to combat, the people of the north are still loyal and peaceable; and for their good conduct deserve the support and assistance of all who are connected with, or interested in, the welfare of Ireland.

There is another species of employment which deserves attention, viz. Planting.

To encourage this, premiums might be given as formerly by the Dublin Society, for which purpose there should be an annual grant from Parliament.

It would be very easy to save the country the sum so granted, by reducing the Irish Pension and Sinecure Lists. Unite the two Post-Offices, which would be most serviceable to commercial intercourse, as well as save the country 8000*l.* per ann. by the reduction of one Postmaster-General in each establishment.

Why should the army and navy be the only sufferers from economy? Reduce the establishments in Customs, Excise, and Stamps. Reduce the Lords of the Treasury.

At present there are five Commissioners of

Customs, take off two; and six of Excise, take off three.

In the Stamp Office there are two Commissioners and two Chairmen.

In the Audit Office there are five Commissioners —two men of business would do the duty better.

There are Commissioners for enquiry into the state of Crown Lands, and Commissioners of the Board of Works.

There is also a Vice-Treasurer, and a Deputy. Why not reduce the latter?

An Auditor-General, a Clerk of the Pells, a Teller of the Exchequer, all offices executed by Deputy. A Keeper of the Privy Seal, Constable of Dublin Castle, Keeper of the Records in Birmingham Tower, and Keeper of State Papers. All non-resident, and unnecessary.

Reduce these offices, and Parliament would be able to afford grants for the employment of the poor.

I have recommended the encouragement of Planting, because the soil and climate of Ireland are very favorable to the growth of Trees. Ireland is less liable than England to a long continuance of cold winds, frost, or deep snow. The premium formerly given was *4l.* an acre for Plantations of not less than 10 acres.

The country is now deriving advantage from such policy, and if canals were made, and saw-mills erected, I am confident that the thatched

cabin would soon give way to the slated cottage, and the power of manuring the land would be increased as well as the comfort of the inhabitants.

At present the Ministers must, if they have the hearts of men, feel for the unhappy and precarious state of the sister country. Subdue the rebellious with one hand, and supply the necessitous with the other.

Another plan appears to me feasible, and I shall therefore state it.

From a variety of unfortunate causes many Irish landlords have been obliged to eject certain pauper tenants.

On all the great estates in the north of Ireland there are extensive moors.

By a loan from Government on the Landlord's Bond, without judgment being entered on it, individuals might be enabled to build cottages and divide the reclaimable ground into farms of ten acres, and thus give to these poor ejected persons habitations and employment at very moderate rents. In this manner property would be improved, and the pauper by his industry be enabled in time to resume the situation in life from which he has been driven by perhaps unavoidable misfortune.

The Earl of Liverpool may think it wise to maintain the severity of the Excise Laws. His Lordship may think, with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that it would be imprudent to reduce

taxation; or with Lord Londonderry, that the reduction of *one shilling* a bushel on malt is a relief to the agriculturists.

His Lordship may think tithes a blessing—and pensions and places main props of the Crown.

The Earl of Liverpool may think that concessions to the Roman Catholics will have no effect in tranquillising Ireland. I do not mean to contend that such concessions will do more than remove a grievance, and allay party animosities. The people of Ireland would consider such concessions a boon, worthy of the Sovereign and of Parliament to bestow; but those concessions alone will not change the state of affairs. The peasant wants the blessings of food, and the comforts of clothing.

His Lordship may think all inquiry useless, and Committees only the means of increasing expectation, and producing disappointment. I am of a different opinion, and am anxious for inquiry, in order to ascertain what the general opinions are; confident that those which are founded in true policy, justice, and humanity, will ultimately prevail.

Opinionum commenta delet dies, naturæ judicia confirmat.

I have the honor to be,
My Lord,
Your Excellency's
Most obedient humble Servant,
BLESSINGTON.

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MDZ Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek

Gardiner, John C.

Observations addressed to his Excell. the Marquis Wellesley on the state of Ireland

London 1822

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